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553 of his tribe entering their valley, he himself could enter this valley with
572 just as much safety as the namesake who belonged there. It was, therefore, very profitable to have as many namesakes as possible in different valleys. Legends furnish evidence of the way in which adventurers and travellers made *e inoa* in the valleys in which they stopped. Those who were namesakes of chiefs were specially protected. There is an historic instance on Hiva Oa of a chief's making war to revenge the death of his namesake.

The following circumstances described by Melville (23, pp. 162-3) are evidently a result of this *e inoa* convention.

> Though the country is possessed by various tribes, whose mutual hostilities almost wholly preclude any intercourse between them, yet there are instances where a person having ratified friendly relations with some individual belonging to the valley, whose inmates are at war with his own, may, under particular restrictions, venture with impunity into the country of his friend, where, under other circumstances, he would have been treated as an enemy. In this light are personal friendships regarded among them, and the individual so protected is said to be "taboo," and his person, to a certain extent, is held sacred. Thus the stranger informed me he had access to all the valleys in the island.

The exchanging of names by powerful chiefs was accompanied with some formality although with nothing approaching that connected with adoption or marriage, for *e inoa* was regarded as a purely private and personal relationship, whereas adoption and marriage united whole families and tribes. When the chief wanted to exchange names with someone, all his relatives prepared large quantities of food and marched together, carrying it to the house of the one who was to be made his namesake, chanting on the way. As they approached the house, those on the platform called out, "*A mai, a mai, a mai* (Come!)." The food that had been brought was then spread out and both families feasted together. The man who was to be the chief's namesake then stood up and recited his genealogy (or some woman gave the recitation), and ended by giving the chief one of his names. The recipient repeated the same formality. Thereafter they
● [782] were called by each other's names. Père Jean (16) speaks of an instance in which a chief offered human sacrifice in making a namesake. When the exchange was made with the formality of a feast and the recitation of the genealogy, the relationship was regarded as sacred for all time.

Commonly, however, the exchange was made more simply, and the bond was easily terminated. It was usually accompanied merely by some simple present, such as cloth or an ornament. Or it might even be made without any gift other than the name itself. Formal exchange was made only between persons of the same class. In other words a poor man could not exchange names with a man of wealth and thus gain the right to

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all his property. When a man of equal wealth or power proposed to become namesake of another, it was regarded as an insult if the recipient of the proposal did not accept it. Refusal was very rare.

VARIOUS RITES OF CHILDHOOD AND YOUTH

Piercing the Ears

When boys and girls were between the ages of six and ten years, their ears were pierced. Mr. Linton was told that the piercing of the ears of boys was done at the same time as the cutting of the foreskin. According to one informant, the rite was performed on many girls at a time in a sacred part of the dance area (probably at the same time that the rite was performed on the daughter of the tribal chief). It was necessary that the operation be performed on sacred ground because of the sacredness of blood. Another informant said that it was only when the ears of a chief's son or daughter were pierced that it was done on the tribal feast place. Other children were merely taken, without public ceremony, to some sacred place where the ears were pierced, after which there was a feast at the dwelling. According to Garcia (14, p. 66) human sacrifice was necessary at the time of the piercing of the ears of a powerful chief's child, whether boy or girl. Following the public piercing of the ears of a chief's child came the *ko'ina oka puaina* (ear piercing feast) consisting of a feast, the singing of a kind of song called *uta* (see Chants), and the dancing of the *haka pahaka* (see Dancing).

The operation was performed by a *tuhuna* skilled in the practice. He used a carved piercer made of the bone of some ancestor, or of tortoise-shell (see Ear Ornaments). On Ua Pou, the hands of the *tuhuna* who performed this operation were *tapu* for five or six days after the operation, during which time he lived at the expense of his employer.

Purifying the Hands

To consecrate the hands, so that an individual could make *popoi* for himself or herself, or others, the *ko'ina ha'ame'ie i'ima* (*ha'a*, to make; *me'ie*, clear; *ima*, hand) was performed for every child, male or female, when about ten years of age. Three or four pigs were fattened for the feast on this occasion. All the relatives of the family assembled at the father's house. The *pahupahu* (maternal uncles and paternal aunts) all lay down, and the board on which *popoi* was pounded was placed on their bodies. Some *popoi* was then beaten up on the board, the child holding the pounder, the father aiding, holding the child's hand and guiding it. All the child's near relatives, and the *kui pakeke* (the father's female cousins, or the child's second cousins) had to partake of this *popoi*. The

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764 eaten by all. According to Dordillon (8) *tia fafati* was the name of the second feast given for a dead person. In addition to this pig the flesh of which was distributed, two more pigs were killed, these being called [783] *vaikaukau* (to bathe). What was done with these or whether they were eaten after purification by bathing—a custom following the handling of the body in the first stages of its treatment—is not indicated.

Funeral Chanting

764 On the night following a death six chants were recited at different times throughout the hours of darkness in connection with the following 533 practices. (See Chants.) The first of these, called *menava tupapa'u* (breath of the dead body), was chanted in the house of the dead man by a group of old men at about six o'clock in the evening. At this time the body was placed on a sheet of *tapa*. A little later, at the time of the recitation of the chant called *puna tohu (puna*, coral or lime; *tohu*, to put on), lime was put on the inside of the coffin to keep the body from smelling—according to informants. The third chant, intoned at about midnight, was the *vai hahae tupapa'u (vai*, water; *hahae*, to break; and *tupapa'u*, corpse). The singing of this chant was accompanied by the sprinkling of a little fresh water on the corpse. This relieved the *tapu* and those present could smoke and eat. At about four A. M. another chant called the *tai ka'anu* was recited for the *menava*, or life breath of the spirit *(tai* means sea, *ka'anu* indicates that the spirit is ready for its departure). At a certain time during this chant the body was washed. The chant was addressed to the spirit and had reference to the regions in the next world to which it would shortly go. At five A. M. another chant, called *fiufiu*, was intoned *(fiu* is said to mean calling to or asking the spirit). In this chant the spirit was urged to free itself from the body, the object of the chant being to strengthen the power of the spirit. The last chant was sung at six o'clock in the morning after the *kuhane*, spirit, was supposed to have taken its departure by way of the mouth. Lastly the chanting of the *aumeha* relieved the company from *tapu (ha'ame'ie*, made clear), and all smoked and ate. (The same *aumeha* was also sung for a new born child at the time of the building of his shrine by his father.)

Funeral Rites for Chiefs and Priests

766 For chiefs, and inspirational and ceremonial priests, there were much more elaborate funeral rites, including a ceremonial tapu on the whole tribe and human sacrifices. On Hiva Oa the bodies of sacrificed human victims were placed at the feet of the dead chief as he lay on his bier. [782] Children were sometimes buried alive with the body of an inspirational priest.

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WAR

TRIBAL RELATIONSHIPS

Relationships between tribes and divisions of different islands have been described already under Tribal Relationships. In connection with war the most important matter discussed in that section is the dual division of Hiva Oa and Nuku Hiva, the eastern and western sections of these respective islands being in a continual state of enmity with each other. Alliances and enmities between the larger tribal groups, and feuds between subtribes within these groups are also discussed in that part of the paper. In the discussion of marriage and also of adoption, it is pointed out that these conventions when established between families of chiefs of different tribes served as a social means to seal political alliances for war, but a formal tribal alliance was made by means of the rite called *hami oa*.

The Marquesas tribes were in a continual state of warfare. Du Petit-Thouars reports (10, vol. 2, p. 358) that in the year 1837 there were five or six wars on Hiva Oa alone. On Nuku Hiva during the first year of the occupancy of the Catholic Mission twenty human sacrifices were offered. These facts probably indicate many raids and retaliations. When two tribes were actually at war, there was little chance that peace would be declared until one or the other had been completely overthrown and driven from the land, since, after every less conclusive victory, there remained always the duty of retaliation and revenge. But by means of the rite of *hami oa* a state of peace could be brought about between the two tribes without the complete overthrow of either.

CAUSES OF WAR

There were two basic causes of all wars. The first was the necessity of securing human sacrifices at certain times for offerings to the tribal god, such sacrifices being always obtained from an enemy tribe. The second cause was revenge, the occasion being frequently the killing or stealing of men, women, or children for sacrifices on the part of another tribe, or possibly the necessity or demand for revenge growing out of an insult to the tribe. If one tribe that went to visit another were received in an unfriendly and inhospitable spirit, the visiting tribe, thus insulted by not being offered the usual courtesies, would return home and prepare for war. War has even been made by one chief on another to avenge personal slights or insults.

When a member of a family had been killed, it was incumbent on every fighting member of the family to avenge the death by blood. The duty was particular with the immediate relatives of the man killed, but ex-

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726 with womankind. Before the party set out for battle, they went through the ceremony called *Kouka*, the object of which was to insulate them against the missiles of the enemy. The warriors proceeded to the temple led by the *auhuna o'ono*, all holding in their hands peeled stalks of young fau wood, ornamented with small bands of the sacred white cloth. Singing the chant called *kouaka*, as they went, they arrived at the temple and thrust the fau wands they were carrying into the thatch of the house set apart for the inspirational priest. The ceremonial priest then addressed to the god a prayer in which it was said, "May such and such a people be vanquished." All the warriors thrust out their arms, then folded them, and shouted, "Our enemies will be for us like cockroaches."

[782] Pigs, fish, tapa cloth, and human victims were offered before battle. These sacrifices were called *houtu toua (houtu*, offering to gods; *toua*, war).

After battle the people who had lost one or several warriors sometimes performed the rite called *vai toto* A little of the earth that had been [789] stained with the blood of the warrior was taken and in the night, at some point above the enemy settlement, was put into the stream from which the enemy obtained their water. Those of the enemy tribe who drank of the water containing this charm were supposed to perish in the next combat.

726 While it is evident from the following description by Melville that 537 there were individuals among the people who aroused the excitement of fighters before war by oratory, there were, so far as I know, no formal orators such as those in Tahiti. Melville says (23, p. 160), describing a speaker:

> The effect he produced upon his audience was electric; one and all they stood regarding him with sparkling eyes and trembling limbs, as though they were listening to the inspired voice of a prophet.

Battle

726 War parties were dispatched to the scene of action by the chief and led by the *toa*. The place where the fighting took place was called *mata vai*. The scene of action was usually in the uplands between valleys, although sometimes large bodies of warriors would invade a valley from behind or from the side. Fighting was always by day. The wives of the warriors would follow them by some safe route to a point where they could see the fighting, going dressed in all their finery as though for a feast. They supported their men with spells, crying: "Into the ground the shot! Into the ground the shot! In vain! In vain! To the land! To the land! It is the shot of the god! It is the gun of the god." If a husband were shot, his woman lamented, *e aue! e aue! e aue!*: alas!

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226 Porter (24, p. 112) describes the following rite which he observed, performed probably for the purpose of consecrating apparatus connected with the fishing industry, though possibly what he heard and witnessed was the recitation of the chant and performance of ceremonial in the sacred place, preceding the departure of a fishing expedition.

> In religion these people are mere children; their morais are their baby houses, and their gods are their dolls. I have seen Gattanewa with all his sons, and many others, sitting for hours together clapping their hands and singing before a number of little wooden gods laid out in small houses erected for the occasion, and ornamented with strips of cloth. They were such houses as a child would have made, of about two feet long and eighteen inches high and no less than ten or twelve of them in a cluster, like a small village. By the side of these were several canoes, furnished with their paddles, seines, harpoons, and other fishing apparatus, and round the whole a line was drawn to show that the place was tabooed. Within this line was Gattanewa and others, like overgrown babies, singing and clapping their hands, sometimes laughing and talking, and appearing to give their ceremony no attention.

[781]

It appears that a skull (undoubtedly that of a deified chief or priest) sometimes played a part in these rites. Père Jean (19) describes the attendant of the tribal sacred place on Ua Pou carrying from the place a skull, which was entrusted to the fishermen to make the catch good and protect the fishermen from sharks. After the fishing was over, the skull was returned to the temple (*ahu*), the repository for the skulls of chiefs and priests.

[782] Pigs, *poke* and *kaaku* (see Preparation of Food) were carried to the fisherman's shrine as offerings. Waist cloths and collars made of pandanus seed were sometimes offered and appeals were made to the god for a large catch and favorable winds, and so on.

Tapu and Inauspicious Influences

226 784 Garcia (14, p. 70) says that certain parts of the coast were *tapu*, being restricted or consecrated to fishing. According to him, there was a general *tapu* affecting the whole valley or tribe at the time of a fishing expedition. On such a day all of those not engaged in the enterprise had to keep silence and remain inactive.

The spirit of the mother of a fisherman, called *ma'uhane*, played a great part in the success of an expedition. A man who had maltreated his mother or failed to give her a share of fish would catch nothing. (This has its counterpart in the belief that a man who quarreled with his mother before battle would be slain.) The wife of a fisherman had to fast when her husband was at sea; she was not permitted to leave her house, nor to indulge in sexual intercourse. (Women were similarly restricted in

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or representations other than those used by the fishermen were employed in connection with public ceremonial is doubtful. Melville's description of the priest of Tai-pi consulting a small roughly carved image wrapped in cloth is of questionable authenticity. This evidence may be supported, however, by that of Stewart (26, pp. 250-51):

> Sometimes a bundle, which is called the "clothed god," consisting of a wooden log, wrapped in cloth, with four conch shells fastened upon it, is lifted up and carefully laid down again by the priests; all the people standing and making responses to an unintelligible jargon, during its elevation.

Altars and Offerings

It appears that some *me'ae* had altars for sacrifice and some had not. At both Ta'a Oa and Pua Ma'u on Hiva Oa are large carved, stone blocks, which stand on the main or uppermost platform and which served as altars for human sacrifices. On the other hand, such stone altars are lacking on virtually all other *me'ae* and there is no evidence that wooden ones were used. In one of the manuscripts of the Catholic fathers, however, the human sacrifice is spoken of as being made on the *akau* (which literally means wood or log), suggesting that wooden altars were used.

Offerings of all kinds were presented at both public and private temples. Remains of calabashes, coconut shell *kava* cups, fish, pigs that had been hung in the trees as offerings, and also whole canoes and parts of them are described as being in temple precincts by Garcia (14, p. 58). Melville (23, p. 101) also describes seeing the putrefying remains of sacrifices. Human remains after the bodies had been taken down from the trees in which they were suspended were buried in the ground of the sacred precincts. (See Human Sacrifice.) Human, animal, and fish bones, occasionally bits of ornaments, and other objects, are to be found today in the platforms of sacred places.

Human Sacrifice

The order of procedure at the time of human sacrifice was—first, the designation by the priest of the number required, then the seeking of the victims and their capture by warriors, the return home of the warriors with their prizes, and the presentation of them to the priests. The bodies were first taken to the feast place (*tohua*), whence they were taken to the *me'ae* for the rite of *fa'i fa'i kuaa*. According to Père Pierre (7), the victims were laid in a row face down on the ground in the *me'ae*. The *tau'a* lay down upon them, and the *tuhuka o'oko* performed the rite of *ha'i kaka*. Drumming and chanting continued for seven days. At Pua Ma'u I was told that at these great rites all the *tuhuna* (professionals) of every kind assisted in the temple precincts, constituting the chorus for the chant-

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ing. While the *tuhuna* chanted, the older men among them sat with their backs resting against the *keho*, stone blocks or columns set in the ground to serve as back rests. At such times the tribe as a whole was under a ceremonial *tapu*. The sacrificing was performed by the inspirational priest and the ceremonial priest at the tribal sacred place.

The use of human sacrifice in connection with war ceremonial has already been described. (See War.) Human victims were also offered as a means of breaking drought and of securing plentiful harvests. A human sarifice was sometimes made for the consecration of a new canoe, house, or coffin of a chief, chiefess, or priest; such an offering accompanied the rites connected with the building of a new tomb or feast place, the erection of which was always in honor of some great man, a chief or priest, dead or alive, and human victims were also offered on the occasion of incidents of especial importance in the lives of chiefs or priests—for example, at the time of the festival celebrating the completion of the tattooing of the chief's son, or when the ears of a chief's daughter were pierced, or on the occasion of the sickness or death of great chiefs or priests. Père Siméon (7) gives the following terms for human sacrifices made for different purposes on various special occasions:

Heaka va'u ia ouoho. Sacrifice on the occasion of shaving the chief's head.
Heaka he'e ia vaevae u te tau'a. Sacrifice when a chief went on a journey.
Heaka hoai ia. Sacrifice when the chief bathed.
Heaka hoa ko'e ia tapu. Sacrifice to put an end to a *tapu*.
Heaka paepae ha'e or paepae tohua. Sacrifice to remove *tapu* from a house or a sacred place.
Heaka mea ki'i ehuehu. Sacrifice when a chief was sick.

A tortoise was sometimes substituted for a human victim.

Obtaining Victims

At times when human victims were required by the tribal god, the deity was supposed to make his wishes known through his inspirational priest. In a state of possession, the priest announced the number of victims that should be obtained, his voice being thought to be that of a god. He would then send his warriors to secure the sacrifice as has been described in connection with war. The story of Tiki-tuao from Pua Ma'u, Hiva Oa, is particularly interesting on account of the illustration it gives of the conceptions with regard to human sacrifice. In this story Tiki-tuao is taken up to the sky and there witnesses the gods regaling themselves on the body of his brother-in-law. He returns to the earth and finds his brother-in-law chanting with other men. When he told the story of what he had seen he was laughed at, but very soon thereafter the brother-in-law was captured and taken home by an enemy tribe to be offered to their god as a

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heana. Tiki-tuao had seen the tribal gods eating the spirit (*kuhane*) of his brother-in-law before the latter was even conscious of the fact that his body was to be sacrificed, the physical sacrifice in this case following the capture of the man's *kuhane* by the gods.

Tapu Before Offering Human Sacrifice

A general *tapu* on the whole tribe was in order at the time of the offering of a human victim. During this rite, the temple assistants kept a great fire burning in the temple precincts. While this fire was burning, no others would be lighted, no one might leave his house, and absolute silence was required. It is said that the inspirational priest could detect violation of this *tapu* by looking into his bowl of *kava*. According to Père Pierre (4), the ceremony of offering human sacrifice lasted seven days. During these seven days the relatives of the victim remained in their houses, never leaving them, lying prone with their heads covered with cloth, lest they come under the power of the spell recited for that purpose over the body of their relative who was being sacrified. This rite, called *mao heana*, is recorded from the island of Hiva Oa by Père Pierre. The face of a human victim was smeared with red pigment. Flowers of *oute* (*Hibiscus rosa sinensis*) were put in their ears. Young *noni* fruits were put in the mouth of the victim, being regarded as bait (*hakoko*) which would draw the relatives of the victim. The spirit of the victim was supposed to carry this bait to the house of his relatives and thus bring it about that they also could be seized as victims.

Rites at Time of Human Sacrifice

The following description of the rite called *ha'i ha'i heaka*, the rite of human sacrifice on Nuku Hiva, is taken from the account of Père Siméon (7), based on the notes of other of the earlier Catholic missionaries:

As the bearers of the victims approached, the priests, dressed in their ceremonial costume, awaited them on the dance area. Drumming announced the approach of the victim. When the carriers arrived, they threw the bodies down before the priests. The victims for the gods were then taken to the temple. There, two baskets called *kete hakaoko* (basket-make-strong), containing fishhooks and some young fresh coconuts, were hung on the arms of each victim. Two fish-hooks were fastened to the lips of the victim, which were drawn tight by small cords. In the baskets was bait to entice the victim's relatives. The inspirational priest mounted the temple platform with a fan in hand and with eyes raised, cried, *"Ou! ou! ou! oho te ʔiʔi"* (Let wrath be kindled). The chant (called *ha'ika*) accompanying the sacrifice was offered by the chief ceremonial priest.

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782 Coconut oil was poured over the head of the victim and on it was put a flat stone to which was attached a coconut fiber thread ending in three rings. The ceremonial priest sat down after the completion of his chant and the chorus of old men continued. A stone ax was put on the head of the victim and all the people clapped their hands. Finally a coconut was put on the victim's head and the juice of another was poured over it. Then a piece of casuarina was placed at the victim's side. The rite ended with the recitation of the names of the first victims who had been taken in ancient times for sacrifices. These rites continued seven days, the inspirational priest (*tau'a*, male or female), the ceremonial priest (*tuhuka o'oko*), the temple assistants (*moa*), and the old men of the choir (*tuhuka*) being the only persons present.

During the time of performance of such rites all those participating took the name Ati Tu, meaning family of Tu, the god of warriors. All were consecrated to the rite and could have no contact with women or outsiders. During the whole time the ceremonial priest lived in his peaked house while the others lived in other houses within the sacred precincts. After the chant consecrating the victims had been recited over the sacrifices the bodies were drawn up in the trees and left suspended there. At the end of the rite the temple assistants cut the bodies down and threw them into a charnel pit. Then other temple assistants plaited coconut leaves (*ha'a komini ia*) and hung them in the trees to indicate the completion of the rite. These signs were called *tava heaka*.

An example of the chant consecrating the victim was obtained by Dordillon (9) from a former ceremonial priest of Tai-pi Vai, Nuku Hiva. This chant is subsequently to be published. At certain points during the chant, according to Père Siméon (7), the body was elevated on the pole on which it was carried by two assistants. At a later point it was thrown on the ground again, after which if the victim were not dead he was killed by being strangled with a strip of fau bark. At a later point in the chant the ceremonial priest mounted a small square stone platform, holding in his hand a fishing line, on the end of which was a large hook (*tava*) (see fig. 22, *c*), which he put in the mouth of the victim—in the chant the victim is spoken of as a fish. Victims were suspended by means of such hooks in the trees of the sacred precincts. There is a Nuku Hiva legend which recounts how Tohetika let down a hook from the sky to secure a human victim. It is certain that the practice of suspending the victims in the trees of the sacred precincts on a large hook was connected with the conception of which this story in an indication. In this story and in that of Tikituao the eyes of the victims are said to have been eaten by the gods with their *kava*. Here again, the story explains the actual

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practice in the rite, for the ceremonial priest ate the eyes of the victim as he was sacrificing him. 782 ●

Some bodies taken to the temple at these times appear to have been eaten, though informants and manuscripts agree that the actual sacrifices were not eaten. At certain points during the chanting, according to Père Jean, the inspirational priest took out the eyes of the victim one at a time and ate them. He cut open the body and took out the heart, which he ate immediately. In the same way he devoured the breast, the bottoms of the feet, and insides of the hands. The body was then cooked, cut up, and divided among the participants in the rite (19). 782 246

When human sacrifices were to be offered to break a famine at Atu Ona, Hiva Oa, warriors were first dispatched to capture sacrifice victims—men, women, or children. When two or three had been seized, they were presented to the inspirational priest, adults being carried, alive or dead, slung naked on a pole like a pig. Children under three years of age were strangled, placed on the heads of old men, and carried to the inspirational priest. The drums would sound at the temple, the sign that all fire should be extinguished, and the chanting and beating of drums was continued during the sacrifice. The informant who gave this account said that when the fire was seen burning at the temple, all other fires could be lighted and cooking could be resumed. After the sacrifice rainfall and abundance were expected. 782 731 [887]

At Pua Ma'u human sacrifices were frequently made in order to bring rainfall and fertility to the land. The victims were offered to the tribal god, Tau'a-mata-uaua, who was supposed to cause things to grow. The natives say that after such a rite the whole country would be green. At Pua Ma'u I learned also that the dead bodies of victims were put in a special house for the purpose, being ranged along the wall in a sitting position or sometimes hung up to the ridge pole. When the bodies were decayed, the remains were thrown by the temple assistants into a stone hole in the platform of the temple.

Another description of the rite to break a famine comes from the manuscript of Pére Pierre (4). On the occasion of this rite the human sacrifice was burned on the temple platform, after which the temple assistants (*taputoho*) braided baskets of coconut leaves, placing them upon their shoulders, went in procession upon the mountain ridges, reciting a chant called *vanana* or *uta va'ana*. This was supposed to bring about the growth of breadfruit. In another rite to bring rain, the body of a victim was also burned. This rite, called *vaititi*, consisted in suspending the body over a fire on the seashore, the arms and legs being tied to the four posts; held thus, the body was left to burn.

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782 The same rite, called *houtu*, which was performed at the sacred place to give the warriors of the tribe power and supremacy over their enemies, was performed also with the accompaniment of human sacrifice, in order to obtain breadfruit during famine. The chant was the same except for a few changes.

E N . . . a tuku mai te aki (ua) (N . . grant us rain).
Eia to oe enana, e houtu, a hano i te mei (N . . . here is your victim, your present. Grant us breadfruit).

The god responded through the mouth of the inspirational priest, "You will have such abundance that the pigs will eat breadfruit lying on the ground." This rite as a whole was called *Houtu io te etua mea ha'a ueue mei* (Gift to the god to make breadfruit abundant).

GODS

776 Deities in the Marquesas may be grouped in the following classes: gods of myth and creation; departmental gods, including gods of nature and the elements, patrons of occupations, and gods of sickness; and tutelary deities, including personal, family, and tribal ancestral spirits. There was also what may be regarded as a class of demi-gods, including legendary heroes, and other characters. Such a classification must not be regarded as exact in the sense that every god will fit conveniently into one and only one class. For instance, Tana-oa is at one and the same time a mythical figure, a legendary hero, a god of the elements, and the patron of occupations. All gods of all classes were ancestral.

The term *etua* or *atua* was applied to all grades of supernatural beings included in the above classes, except the legendary characters whom the natives refer to, for the most part, as men (*enata*). The native does not distinguish supernatural and natural, as we do. *Atua* were simply beings with powers and qualities of the same kind as those of living men (*enata*), but greater. Some men and women were *atua* in this life; most became *atua* after death.

GODS OF CREATION

The first gods of creation are summed up in the *vavana* chant (see Sacred Chants). According to this chant the original gods who emerged from between the level above (*Papa una*) and the level beneath (*Papa a'o*) when they were thrust apart were: Atea, Tane, Tonofiti, Moepo, Tatihi, Topeua, Pupuke, Manatu, Tohuhi, Tahea, Mahoi Pii tini, Tiki ei, Aumia, Hakui, Moui, Pini, Kea, Tu, and Ono-tapu. Some of these gods are known to have had a definite and direct connection with human affairs—it is probable that if our knowledge were better, we should find that they all did. Others, such as Tiki, Tu, and Ono, were also prominent legendary

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
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192 *away*, &c. &c. *Mattee* expresses every degree of injury which can happen to a person or thing from the slightest harm to the most cruel death. Thus a prick of the finger is *mattee*, to have a pain in any part is *mattee; mattee* is to be sick; to be badly wounded is *mattee*, and *mattee* is to kill or be kill, to be broke, (when speaking of inanimate objects) to be injured in any way, even to be dirtied or soiled is expressed by the word *mattee*. *Motakee*, with slight variations of the voice, signifies every degree of good, from a thing merely tolerable, to an object of the greatest excellence; thus it is, *so, so, good, very good, excellent:* it signifies the qualities and dispositions of persons; thus they are *tolerable, likely, handsome*, or *beautiful,— good, kind, benevolent, generous, humane*. *Keheva*, which signifies *bad*, is as extensive in its use as *motakee*, and, by suitable modulations of the voice, has meanings directly opposite. This is the case with many other words in their language; indeed with all we became acquainted with. *Kie-kie* signifies to *eat*, it also signifies *a troublesome fellow;* may it not also have many other significations, with which we are unacquainted?—it may signify to *cut up, to divide, to sacrifice, to keep as trophies;* whether it has these significations I am unable to say, and Wilson could not inform me; but many circumstances induce me to believe they meant no more, when they informed me they sometimes ate their enemies. That they offer the bodies of their enemies as sacrifices to their gods, I had more than once an opportunity of seeing, while I remained on the island. Unfortunately the wars we were under the necessity of carrying on against the hostile tribes furnished them with too many subjects. Their fondness for their bones as trophies, is evident to every person. Their skulls are carefully preserved and hung up in their houses. Their thigh bones are formed into harpoons, and sometimes are richly ornamented with carvings; their smaller bones are formed into ornaments to be hung round their necks, representing figures of their gods; they are also converted into fan-handles; form a part of the ornaments of their war conchs, and in fact compose part of every description of ornament where they can possibly be applied.

727 [266] [782]

648 I now inquired if they had heard from the Happahs, since the battle: they told me one of that tribe had that morning arrived. I directed him to be sent for; he approached, trembling for safety; but on my offering my hand, which I had taught all the natives was a token of friendship, his fears seemed to subside. I learnt from him that many of the tribe were badly wounded, and that the whole were in the utmost dismay, and desired nothing more ardently than peace. I represented to him the folly of opposing their arms to ours, and to convince him of the superiority of muskets, I fired at a tree some distance off; the ball

6: Lisiansky T-5 (1803-1806) 1814 OX6 Marquesas OX6

murder, had no punishment but what personal revenge might dictate. As to religion, though there are priests amongst them, we never perceived the least signs of worship. When any person dies, the corpse is immediately washed, and exposed on a plank in the middle of the house, and his relations and friends assemble to mourn over him; on which occasion they weep bitterly, and scratch their bodies with sharp bones, or shells. Sometimes this attendance on the dead is a scene of crying and laughing alternately; these different emotions immediately following each other, as I have often witnessed, in savages. For instance, on my firing a gun, though it terrified them almost to death, a burst of laughter almost instantaneously succeeded their fright. The ceremony of washing and weeping being over, the body is carried to the burying-ground, where it is exposed on a wooden platform, and left to waste away in the open air. In war, the bodies of the dead are always buried, for fear of their falling into the hands of the enemy; nothing being so humiliating to a Marquesan, as to see a scull of one of his party tied to the foot of an individual of an adverse party, who shows his triumph in this manner, if he obtains one in any way. 1804. May.

The most barbarous honours are paid here to priests, on their decease. Roberts assured me, that, on the death of a priest, three men must be sacrificed; two of whom are hung up in the burying-ground, while the third is cut to pieces, and eaten by visitors; all but the head, which is placed upon one of the idols. When the flesh of the first two are wasted away, the bones that remain are burnt. The custom of the country requires, that the men destined for sacrifice should belong to some neigh-

6: Lisianasky T-5 (1803-1806) 1814 OX6 Marquesas OX6

1804. May. bouring nation, and accordingly they are generally stolen. This occasions a war of six, and sometimes of twelve, months: its duration, however, depends upon the nearest relation of the deceased priest; who, as soon as he is acquainted with his death, retires to a place of taboo; and, till he chooses to come out, the blood of the two parties does not cease to flow. During his retirement, he is furnished with every thing he may require, human flesh not excepted.

Former voyagers have asserted, that the Marquesan men and women have no individual attachments, but cohabit promiscuously, as inclination may dictate. This, however, is a mistake: the marriage state is held nearly as sacred among them as it is among any uncivilized people It is true indeed, fathers sometimes offered us their daughters, and husbands their wives; but this proceeded from their ardent desire of possessing iron, or other European articles, which, in their estimation, are above all price. This out of the question, jealousy is so prevalent with the men, that upon the smallest suspicion of infidelity, they punish their wives with severity. Though there is no law here against adultery, any more than against any other crime, there is a custom so generally sanctioned respecting it, that it on some occasions supplies the place of law: which is, that if a husband knows his wife to have been unfaithful to him, he may endeavour to seduce the wife of the adulterer, and avenge his own wrong by possessing her. The only ceremony relating to marriage that takes place in the Marquesa islands, is this: If a young man falls in love with a girl, and his love is returned, he endeavours to get possession of her person; or, failing in this, goes immediately and claims her of her parents; and, if they consent, he takes up his

6: Lisiansky T-5 (1803-1806) 1814 OX6 Marquesas OX6

674 young ones were not stolen, and then eaten to prevent detection. I can easily credit this propensity to thieving, when I recollect, that the king's brother himself stole a piece of sugar from me, and, being accused of the crime, endeavoured, in the most barefaced manner, to persuade me that it was committed by a duck which I had given him, and which was then under his arm. 1804. May.

775 It is proved by facts that ignorance is the mother of superstition. It will therefore excite no astonishment that the inhabitants of Noocahiva should possess this quality in the highest degree. Every one here is persuaded, that the soul of a grandfather is transmitted by Nature into the body of his [843] grandchildren; and that, if an unfruitful wife were to place herself under the corpse of her deceased grandfather, she would be 755 sure to become pregnant. It is also a current opinion, that there are individuals on the island who can cure the effects of the strongest poison, by simply rubbing the sides of the patient with their hands, which is supposed to make the poison come 776 out from under the ribs. But the belief in evil spirits has the ● 782 greatest weight, and is carried to the greatest absurdity amongst them; for it is imagined, that these spirits come sometimes into houses, and by whistling, and other more tremendous noises, demand pork and cava or ava, which, being placed in the middle of the room and covered, are immediately devoured by them. Surely these instances prove how insignificant, in its natural state, is the human understanding.

501 I saw none of the war-canoes of this place, and can therefore say nothing respecting them; but the common canoe is long and narrow, the bottom made out of a single tree, and fastened

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

412 [824] According to the accounts of informants the bamboo knives were slivers, one-half to three-quarters of an inch in width, from the stalk of the smaller of the two native species of bamboo. When first split off, the outer coat of the stem gives a surprisingly sharp edge, but this soon becomes dull with use. When a knife became dull it was usually thrown away and another sliver selected; but it was occasionally sharpened by tearing a thin strip off the edge with the teeth. Jardin (33, p. 53) says that knives made from this bamboo were used to dispatch human victims for sacrifice. [782]

Knives made from sharpened pearl shells were used, also stone knives made from long flakes.

373 [824] On the rare occasions when an indoor light is required the natives use candles made of *ama* nuts. The ripe nuts are baked in an earth oven, the shells cracked, and the oily kernels extracted whole. These kernels are then strung on the stiff midrib of a coconut leaflet, the lower end of the midrib being left bare for some inches to serve as a base, or handle. As far as can be learned no special candle holder is used. The lower end of the midrib is simply thrust between two stones of the paved house floor. When ignited, the kernels burn slowly, with a flickering smoky flame and the light requires constant tending, as it is necessary to knock off the cinder of each nut with a short stick as soon as the fire had passed to the one below. It is rather curious that lamps appear never to have been used by the natives in the Marquesas, although their use was common in both the Society Islands and Hawaii. Torches were rarely used for interior illumination, but are still extensively used in night fishing. (See p. 397.) [171]

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
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plus the food and labor that his care had involved. His importance was ceremonial rather than practical. These animals were considered essential to all rites of adoption, marriages, funerals, and various other feasts. The place which the head of a household achieved in the next world was directly dependent upon the number of pigs which were sacrificed at the commemorative ceremonies held for him some time after his death.

Chickens were of little economic importance. Eggs were never eaten; the fowl themselves served as food only occasionally, and were never included in the menu at important feasts. Cocks were valued chiefly for their iridescent feathers, which were used for headdresses and much prized.

Fishing was the main source of flesh food and was highly organized on a common basis. Each tribe had its sacred place for fishermen with a shrine and a master fisherman, who was also a priest. His duties included proper care of the fishing gear and images, and the keeping of the taboos which surrounded the fishermen during their time of service. At this period the men lived in a sacred enclosure which women were forbidden to enter, and no man could have contact with women or with anything made by women during this time.

The fishing canoes were individually owned, but the catch was divided on communal lines. The first fish were set aside for the fisherman-priest and the special gods; after that, what remained was prorated among the population. Shell-fishing could be engaged in by anyone at any time, but big fishing was always communal. Single canoes were warned against going out alone, for some fishing banks were ten or twenty miles from land, and a single canoe could easily be cut off by enemies. Most of the fishing was done with giant nets which were let down between the boats. The big fish, rays, shark, etc., were harpooned and were an important article of diet, although the flesh of the rays was so strong that it had to be hung up for days before it could be eaten. Turtles were highly valued and, for sacrificial purposes, were considered equivalent to a human captive.

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226 captive. Surplus fish were either sun-dried or salted. The Mar-
[263] quesans, unlike the other Polynesians, attached a tremendous value to salt and combed the rocks around the cliffs for it.

272 Mention should be made also of kava, a narcotic drink made
276 from a root, which was chewed up, usually by the boys and girls, as they had better teeth than their elders, spat into a bowl, and fermented. Its effects were mild. The drinker became extremely sensitive to sounds or disturbances, and desired to be let alone. Kava parties were not convivial affairs; the participants after two or three cups of kava each, settled back comfortably and talked very little. Since there was very little land on which the kava root could be raised, the drink was a luxury and reserved for the household heads.

266 The last item in connection with food is cannibalism. In the old days the Marquesans were vigorous cannibals, and from my talks with the old men who had indulged in the practice, I am convinced that, while there was ceremonial cannibalism, there was also eating of human flesh because they found it good. This is one of the few regions where women were permitted to eat human meat. Although there was eating of enemies because of revenge obligations, there was also plain meat-hunting of enemy tribes for food, especially at times of food shortage. Another indication that cannibalism was not merely ceremonial is that these people ate everyone from infants up. The purpose of ceremonial cannibalism is to absorb the good qualities of the individual one is consuming, but the Marquesans had a preference for children too young to have attained admirable qualities. There were also stories of man-eaters, people who developed a pathological fondness for human flesh. Such a man would kidnap children of his own tribe or even kill and eat his own
[731] wife or children. There was ordinarily no cannibalism within the tribe, although in times of extreme famine an inspirational priest might designate certain victims who would be killed and
[782] eaten. Sacrifices to the gods were not eaten, the idea being that the entire individual was left to be consumed by the gods. Revenge victims, however, were always eaten.

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619 344 exhibition of food; all around this was a series of platforms which were assigned to the various classes of the population as grandstands. Attached to the regular *tohua* would be, first, the altar platform, which was the seat of the ancestral gods; then a seat for the chief and his immediate family, and after that the platform for the priests, that for the *tuhunga*, and that of the warriors, a large affair having a permanent house which was taboo for women; lastly, there were a platform for women and children, and a big platform for visiting members of other tribes. A new *tohua* was usually built for the eldest son of the chief, an act which raised the status of the chief's family and the tribe.

619 778 [782 784] The tribe also had one or more sacred places in the hills which were used for human sacrifices and for the final disposal of the dead. There were also the sacred place of the fishermen and the great food pits. All this property belonged to the tribe, the fact of tribal membership entitling anyone to its use.

The Household

592 595 The Marquesan household was polyandrous, there being usually two or three men to one woman, while in the household of the chief there might be eleven or twelve men to three or four women, one head wife and subsidiary wives. Well-to-do households would usually add one or even two wives to the establishment some years after the initial marriage of the household head. All members of such a group had sexual rights in each other, the arrangement constituting a sort of group marriage. A chief or head of a rich family would sometimes arrange a marriage with a young woman because she had three or four lovers whom he wished to attach. The men would follow the woman; in this way the family head could build up the man power of his household. Only the poorest households at the lower social levels were monogamous, and there was much envy of rich households by poor ones.

592 Household, rather than family, is the proper term for the basic social unit of Marquesan society. Households were graded

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danger from cannibals. If enemy raiders did catch a roving child, he was certain to be eaten or sacrificed. Children under four years were not tortured but if offered as sacrifices were simply strangled and taken to the sacred place in the hills, where they were hung up with hooks through the mouth and offered to the gods in this way.

The child, then, was under supervision all the time, usually by the secondary husbands. The man would go about his work, keeping an eye on the infant. The child was played with occasionally when the adult was not too busy, but there was no constant attention. The child found early in life that it got nowhere by yelling, for if the adults were busy, they just let it cry. However, if the child became too troublesome, an adult might quiet it by masturbating it. The masturbation of female children began very early; in fact, from the moment of birth there was systematic manipulation of the labia to elongate them, as elongation was considered a mark of beauty.

There was little discipline, and as has been said before, no discipline whatsoever for the eldest child. There was, however, constant danger from taboo infractions, the supposed dangers from ogres, and the real danger of cannibals. The terror which adults felt when a child got out of sight was genuine, and, of course, strongly affected the emotional response of the child. The child was not intimidated or coerced, but it was impressed upon him that if he wandered away, he would be in constant danger, from which only the adult could protect him. The supervision, however, was of a rather diffused sort. The danger stressed was not in being away from any particular person but in being alone. No economic responsibility of any sort was imposed on the child before puberty. The child was not taught any arts or crafts, but led an entirely carefree existence.

When the youngsters were eight or ten they began to form into gangs. Both girls and boys were in such groups; more boys than girls because of the before-mentioned sex ratio. The unit was vaguely defined, and was composed of children born within three or four years of one another, with occasionally

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body. This double was material, though of an extremely tenuous form of matter, and had the exact appearance of its living counterpart. During sleep this spirit left the body and wandered about freely, meeting the spirits of other sleeping individuals and conversing with them. Any transactions made during these conversations were considered valid and had to be fulfilled by the person on waking. These spirits were also seen by persons in the waking state, particularly by the priests, who frequently had to deal with straying spirits of the living.

At death the *uhane* left the body permanently. The natives believed that there was a whole series of upper and lower worlds to which the spirits of the dead went. Dead chiefs and priests of the higher order were deified by means of human sacrifices—ten human sacrifices, one for each of the ten parts of the body, were the necessary requirement for deification. These sacrifices had to be performed before the body was finally disposed of, thus giving the tribe a year or more in which to seize the captives and stage the ceremony. Persons who were sacrificed for deification ceased to have any existence as distinct individuals, since the soul of the dead chief or priest absorbed into itself the souls of the human sacrifices, and was in this way raised to superhuman power. The newly made god then rose to the sky world where dwelt the creation gods and the previously deified priests and chiefs. Such a god returned to the tribe frequently, not so much to punish his descendants as to demand sacrifices because he was hungry, or to aid them if they were in difficulty.

This deification of chiefs through human sacrifice had occurred well within the memory of a number of the old men with whom I talked during my stay in the islands. One man told me that he remembered the death of his chief about 1865 and the subsequent deification by the proper ritual. During the lifetime of the chief, his tribe had suffered numerous defeats at the hands of the tribe from the neighboring valley. After his spirit had been deified and his body disposed of, the chief's skull was placed on the prow of a war canoe in which his followers made a raid upon the enemy valley. They returned

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victorious with several captives. The power of the deified chief was thus established and he was the god of the valley, speaking to his people through the mouth of his own inspirational priest.

An old man from the island of Ua Pou told me of another instance of the power of a deified chief, which he remembered from his youth. When the chief was old and knew that he must soon die, he said to his followers, "Soon I shall become a god; what do you desire that I do for you after I go to the sky world?" The people asked that he take away the *nonos*, a kind of sandfly which infested the island and caused much distress by its vicious bite. He observed that this would be difficult but that he would do his best. Soon after, the chief died but was not properly deified because the tribe was unable to obtain sufficient captives for the ceremony. The chief, however, overlooked this omission and went to work on the sandflies, so that within three months all the *nonos* had disappeared from the island. This chief is still the dominant deity of Ua Pou. I visited his tomb, a white-washed structure of concrete with a cross at one end and a carved stone image on the other.

The gods were almost all males. Theoretically, women could hold the highest rank, but in practice few women were actually household heads, rulers of tribes, or inspirational priests. In rare cases the eldest daughter of a chief would become chieftainess and rule in her own right, although as a rule the chief adopted a boy if his eldest child was a girl. Such a woman might be deified, but the most powerful deities were invariably male.

Those whose rank did not entitle them to a place in the sky world went to one of the three lower worlds. The lowest of these was the most desirable, while the highest one, the one immediately adjoining the world of living and therefore the easiest to reach, was highly unpleasant, dark and muddy and short of food. The world to which a man went depended on the number of pigs sacrificed at his memorial feast. Those for whom there was only one pig, or none at all, went to the poorest world. The head of the household of the dead person, some time before the memorial feast, went to each house in which

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was apparently uneasy about his promise, and went up to the sacred place alone on the day before he was to take me. He came back looking very ill, said that he had seen a spirit and was going to die. He took to his bed and three days later he was dead, apparently scared to death.

In each of these sacred places there was a sacred grove, a series of platforms with images, etc. Near the house of the inspirational priest was a curious structure shaped like an obelisk, fifteen feet on a side and sixty feet high. At the tribal assembly place there was another sacred place which was open to all and used for small and unimportant sacrifices. Human sacrifices were all carried on in the sacred groves back in the hills. Some one tribal god was always in the ascendancy at any given time, the dominance shifting with the result of the oracles given by his inspirational priest and with the god's power to fulfill the demands of his followers. In other words, the god most worshipped was the one who worked most effectively; he was usually a deity recently dead.

The priesthood was highly organized with two classes, the inspirational and the ceremonial. Each important god had his own inspirational priest, although two or three lesser gods might share a priest among them. The inspirational priests of the highest gods outranked even the tribal chief. These priests were graded in duties and power in accordance with the importance of the god they served. Women could be inspirational priests but were rarely possessed by a god of high rank. The inspirational priest demonstrated his fitness for the office by being possessed by the spirit of the god immediately after the death of the previous priest of this particular god, or immediately after the deification of a new god. In other words, as soon as a vacancy in the priesthood occurred, everyone would be waiting expectantly to see who would become possessed. The individual thus chosen was seized with violent twitchings, made strange sounds, and finally, after emerging from the hysterical seizure, pronounced an oracle.

The inspirational priests of the higher gods were thought to